3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

There is some tendency for the internal *changa* workers to be women rather than men. They are often widows or divorced women who must support themselves, with partial assistance from a brother or a father. In the present situation, these women cannot work in *changa* for Brazilians. While some widows keep *kokwé* of their own or maintain a part of the *kokwé* of the relative with whom they live, such activity does not usually provide them with the trade goods, particularly cloth, that all Cayuá now need. Internal *changa* for fellow villagers, in exchange for trade goods or cash, is one solution. Women are not exclusively involved in the internal *changa*, however, as one of the most consistent internal *changa* workers is Inácio, a man who also has probably the largest *kokwé* of his own in the whole village. Inácio never works for Neo-Brazilians, possibly because he can not speak Portuguese and would therefore be cheated or would be unable to deal with them to his interest.[134]

The possibility of hiring other Cayuá to work for him in the *kokwé* seems to be one of the best solutions for the man who spends too much time abroad working for his *patrão*. It is a rather circular arrangement, of course, but one more or less in keeping with increasing specialization. It would be a mistake, nevertheless, to think that the internal *changa* is already a commonplace at Taquapiri. One main reason why the practice is still not resorted to on a larger scale among the Cayuá is that the need and the possibility for it are not yet very great. It is presumably also true, therefore, that the number of individuals desiring wage work of their fellows is not large either. At present, the internal *changa* serves as little more than an occasional convenience and probably is not a necessary recourse for any but a few individuals. Indeed, practically everyone is still his own farmer. But presumably the few cases of Cayuá wage employment typify acculturative changes which, now that they are introduced, will ultimately become effective on a larger scale.

Changa work for Brazilians is one of the most intensive channels for acculturative change of attitudes that exists. In no other connection do the Cayuá come into so frequent contact with the Neo-Brazilian, nor for such periods of time, or under such relatively intimate circumstances. The Cayuá *pedo* often leaves his village for several days or a week at a time, unless his *patrão* happens to be one of the few living within easy distance of Taquapiri. During this work period he will usually stay on the property of his *patrão* in rough quarters provided for the purpose. He will be fed from the kitchen of the *patrão*, or will at least receive raw materials for cooking if he has brought his wife and family along with him. During the day he works in the field of the

vance, and the worker never did the contracted work. This individual happened to be a man with very shallow roots in the village, and he left Taquapiri altogether before performing the work.

[134] This same reason, that of not being able to speak Portuguese in order to deal with a *patrão*, is given in the case of another Cayuá who is reputed one of the best agricultural workers at Taquapiri.